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SLAVERY IN AFRICA

A SPEECH

BY

CARDINAL LAVIGERIE

MADE AT THE MEETING HELD IN LONDON JULY 31, 1888. PRESIDED OVER BY LORD GRANVILLE, FORMER MINISTER OF ENGLISH FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

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Made at the Meeting held in London July 31, 1888, LORD GRANVILLE, former Minister of English Foreign Affairs presiding.

AN anti-slavery meeting was held in Princess's Hall, London, on Tuesday, July 31st, over which Lord Granville, former Minister of Foreign Affairs presided, his Eminence Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Westminster, and many other illustrious Englishmen being present. Among them were travellers and African explorers, and, at their head, the most renowned of all, Commander Cameron, who has spent seven years in visiting the interior of Africa and in opposing slavery, and who has written an excellent work on his travels, which has long since been translated into French.

"The Times" records that Lord Granville, the honorable president, opened the meeting with an address which was frequently interrupted by bursts of applause, and in which he presented Cardinal Lavigerie to the assembly as the standard-bearer of French anti-slavery. He reminded them that the cause of the abolition of slavery had ever been dear to England, and that she is even now taking practical measures to repress it in the Indian Ocean. Yet he declared notwithstanding that slavery, which, in latter times, has been almost abolished along the coast, has increased in the interior to an inconceivable extent; and he announced that the Archbishop of Carthage and Algiers, and Primate of Africa, was come to England to make known the situation. He fully admitted that it was the duty of all civilized nations to interest themselves in such a state of affairs; that at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, and at that of Verona in 1822, the European governments had solemnly pledged themselves to do so; that it was true that the Congress of Berlin had not felt itself in a position to attack the

question again, being ignorant of the exact state of things; but that to-day the moment seemed to have come for giving such a question the importance that it deserved. In concluding he paid a graceful compliment to Cardinal Lavigerie, who spoke in these words:

My Lord:* Allow me to thank you at once for the great kindness of your words. It will be one of the most valued remembrances of my life that I was presented to this assembly by a man whose name is the honor of England in the eyes of his own country, and in those of all the governments of the civilized world. [Applause.]

Kindly allow me also to thank my eminent colleague, Cardinal Manning, for the support lent me to-day by his presence and his name, which is made venerable by the records of a noble life, wholly devoted to the service of his country and to that of the Church of which he is the Shepherd. [Applause.]

Ladies and gentlemen: It is not a politician who comes before you to-day. I have never been concerned, or am I concerned at this moment, with other interests than those of the soul, humanity, and religion.

Neither am I an orator. Absorbed as I have been, for almost a quarter of a century, by the duties of my ministry, in a half-civilized continent, I have nearly forgotten my mother-tongue. I feel, to-day, a two-fold regret, inasmuch as I have not learnt yours, and can only express to you the feelings which move me by the accents of my voice, and, as you have just heard it so happily put, by the bonds of affection which bind me to those of your brethren, who come, year by year, in large numbers, to take up their abode beneath our Algerian sun. [Applause.]

I am, therefore, only an old shepherd, almost worn out, by labor and by years, who would plead before you the cause of a part of his flock, which is given up to cruel sufferings, and threatened with entire destruction.

I am about to speak to you of the horrors of the African slave-trade.

Twice already I have solemnly raised my voice to denounce them; the first time at Rome, at the feet of the Sovereign Pontiff, the great Leo XIII., my father as well as that of all Christians; the second time in France, my birthplace. This double duty of filial respect and patriotism fulfilled, I turn towards you, Christians of England. In spite of all that divides us, I am sure beforehand that our feelings will be the same in a cause which is that of humanity, justice, and liberty. [Prolonged applause].

I come, therefore, to you, because you first, inspired by these sentiments, have declared war on slavery in the West Indies. For three centuries it oppressed thousands of human beings, who were cruelly dragged from Africa. It was upheld by all the sophistries of cupidity, and, therefore, seemed unconquerable. You it was, and your fathers,

* Lord Granville.

who, dismayed by no obstacle, undertook to uproot it. The world knows the names of the writers who led this noble crusade, and of the statesmen who supported them, — the names of Wilberforce, of Clarkson, of Buxton. [Applause.] In uttering this last name, I cannot forget that it is that of the founder of your Society, of this League against slavery, under whose auspices we are at this moment assembled. For more than half a century it has fought nobly for this holy cause. It has just recorded a victory while beholding, first Cuba, then Brazil, yield to the ideas and sentiments which it has spread everywhere, in common with the writers of France and those of the United States of America. Now, according to a common proverb, "*Noblesse oblige*," and, therefore, England, which has made every effort to destroy slavery in the colonies, cannot remain indifferent to slavery in Africa, which is a thousand times more horrible.

She it is, moreover, who first drew attention to this question, by the accounts of her explorers. They were the first to make known to Europe the atrocities which were taking place, without her knowledge, in the heart of our continent.

After having done away with slavery in America, and having established cruisers in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, which were to prevent the transport of slaves into Asia, the zeal of the Christian nations grew cold. The generous indignation died out, which had forced princes, as well as the furious opposition of the traders, to loose their prey. Men seemed to have forgotten that slavery still existed upon earth. They had even forgotten the Mussulman slave-trade, which, under a less cruel form, still existed in countries nearer to us, when, suddenly, fifteen years ago, they learned, through your travellers, that it was flourishing, with untold horrors, in the heart of Africa, which was then almost unknown. The explorers affirmed this, and they called upon the Christian world to interfere in favor of these unfortunate beings, who, though not, indeed, one with us in faith, are, like ourselves, God's creatures.

At the head of those who opened this new war was the noble and intrepid Livingstone. [Loud applause.] It was my wish, as an African of long standing, to visit the tomb of the great explorer, beneath the arches of Westminster. You have laid him amongst your greatest men. You did well; for Livingstone is the glory of this century, and of your country, by his courage, his noble intellect, and the self-sacrifice of his life. [Prolonged applause.] Yet, if you are the inheritors of his glory, you should be the executors of his last wishes. [Applause.] I have read with emotion, which brought the tears to my eyes, the last words traced by his hand, and which England, by order of her governors, has had officially engraved on his tomb. In the destitution in which he was about to die, he wrote as follows: "*I can do no more than pray that the richest blessings of Heaven may fall upon all those, be they English, American, or Turk, who shall help to wipe from the world the deadly stain of slavery.*" [Applause.]

I thank you for your applause. I look on it as a forerunner of the success of our united efforts. [Fresh applause.]

Lastly, I am not come to excite your pity only, or to recall the duties which such a past lays upon you; but I come, also, to appeal to your justice, towards which England has undertaken sacred responsibilities, through the new empires which she has lately founded or conquered in Africa.

Such are the reasons of my confidence; but, before entering on the body of my subject, I must correct an expression which I used in beginning. I said that I came to *plead* the cause of the poor blacks. This expression does not precisely correspond with my idea, and I withdraw it, for two reasons.

Firstly, because the cause of the slaves needs not to be pleaded before English Christians, for it is gained already in their hearts. [Repeated applause.]

Secondly, because the cause has been already pleaded with matchless eloquence by the facts themselves, and by the narratives of your explorers.

Africa needs not advocates but witnesses; and it is as a new witness that I present myself before you. I do not intend to repeat anything that you know already through your own writers, or through those of Germany. I do not mean to make a summary of their accounts or to recall the sentiments which they inspire. Yet, in the case of such horrors, their exact truth may sometimes be questioned, and Livingstone himself expressed a fear that he might be charged with exaggeration. Now, doubt in such a cause is its ruin, because doubt brings with it hesitation, and hesitation at this moment means the destruction of the interior of Africa. If we allow the massacre of the inhabitants to be completed, it will be too late to do anything. The important point is to carry conviction to men's minds; and in order to make this conviction unchangeable, we must bring forward new witnesses who agree with the previous ones.

I come, therefore, to give you my testimony about that part of Africa of which the evangelizing has been entrusted to me.

This testimony, however, is not mine alone. In the regions of which I am about to speak to you, I have a legion of eye-witnesses. These are my sons, the missionaries of Algiers, or, as they are called in the language of the people in Africa, "the White Fathers of Algeria." [Applause.]

When I arrived in that country more than twenty years ago I perceived that, unless I intended to confine my ministry to the Mussulman countries which are still almost completely closed against the Gospel, I must make my way into the interior, to the pagan populations, and I knew that, however great my strength, I must soon sink, if I undertook such an enterprise alone. I collected about me a few young men, whose souls were burning with the purest Apostolic zeal. They are bound by oaths which oblige them to live the life of the natives, and to suffer for them unto death. There were but three in

the beginning; but it is to the glory of human nature that, in its case, heroism is as contagious as evil. To-day they number three hundred [applause] under different names, Fathers, Brothers, Novices or assistants; three hundred living. One hundred are dead; theirs the greater glory. Of these, eleven shed their blood by martyrdom, the others yielded to the climate, to illness, to want, and to fatigue. If I speak thus, it is not from a feeling of complacency which would be contemptible, but to stamp their testimony with the seal of sacrifice, and to leave no doubt about the horrors that they reveal. I remember the saying of a Christian philosopher of my country, who, speaking of the foundation of Christianity, and of the objections brought against its history, refuted them with this argument drawn from the martyrdom of the Apostles and Evangelists. "Witnesses who have their throats cut must be believed," said Pascal. It is the testimony of witnesses who have their throats cut that I am going to give you to-day in addition to what you know already. [Applause.]

To avoid confusion and to make quite clear the different parts of Africa which this testimony concerns, I must tell you, in the first place, in what regions my missionaries are established. For more than ten years they have occupied Sahara and the region of the great lakes, from the sources of the Nile to southward of the Tanganyika, as well as the Belgian Upper Congo. From thence they write to me, and it is about these regions which are of vast extent, that I wish to speak to you, leaving to other travellers, or missionaries, living in other parts of our continent, to inform Europe of what they see.

To speak, in the first place, of the former, — I mean the missionaries of Sahara, — they bear witness that, in spite of what others may say, slavery still flourishes to the same extent as formerly, in all the countries of North Africa, which lie south of the European possessions. The pursuit of slaves for these countries extends as far up as the Niger, in all the regions where the negroes have not been completely subjected to the rites of the Mussulman religion. The sale, on the contrary, takes place publicly in all the Mahometan provinces. Consequently, all the towns in the interior of Morocco have markets to which journey the caravans of slaves. A few years ago, — scarcely five years, — these markets were held in the towns along the coast, and as far as Tangiers, just opposite to your Gibraltar. If they have since fled far from our sight, to seek refuge in the towns of the interior, you know to whom it is due; it is the honorable Secretary of the Association which brings us together to-day,* who, by his eloquent and indignant remonstrances, has forced these infamous traders to hide, at least, their work. [Prolonged applause.] Yet the markets are still held in the interior, and several times each year the Mussulmans are seen there openly laying in a supply of wretched human cattle. It is the same in the oases of Sahara; that is to say, in all those which lie on the frontiers of Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli, and as far as Egypt.

* Mr. Allen, Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society.

To be accurate, and to say nothing but the exact truth, as my character of witness obliges me to do, the domestic slavery in this region is far from showing the marks of incessant butchery, which it presents, as I shall prove to you, on the high plateaux in the heart of Africa. When they are once bought and received into the Mussulman families, they are treated with a certain amount of kindness. It is for the interest of the masters not to destroy their slaves, who cost them dear on account of the distance. Perhaps, also, the neighborhood of the Europeans alarms the slave-holders. They may fear lest the cries and groans of their victims should reach our ears.

There is, however, a peculiarity which lends to this trans-Saharian traffic a character of atrocity; this is, the crossing of the desert, which requires whole months of travel by the flocks of women and children that the caravans drag after them. A frightful journey, in which they travel on foot over dry sands, beneath a scorching sun, and through a country in which food is often wanting, and water still more often. There is enough for the slave-traders, but the women and children receive only just enough to keep them from dying; for if they died they would cheat their executioners of the profit that they look for. The Touregs are generally the conductors of these human flocks. Their hearts are as hard as the steel of their lances, and a handful of raw sorghum, with a mouthful of water, is all that they give to the slaves, who march painfully beneath the terrible yoke. Some fall; that is death. The experienced eye of the trader knows at once whether his victim is likely to escape him before the journey's end. If he thinks so he despatches him with a blow of his weapon. The hyenas and jackals will come to devour their flesh, leaving whitened skeletons to mark the way between Morocco and Fezzan.

Yet the slave traffic in Sahara and the Northern provinces, of which Timbuctoo is the centre, is nothing in comparison with that on the high plateaux of the interior. It is of that particularly that I must speak to you. There, at this moment, our missionaries are witnesses of deeds which cause a whole continent to writhe in anguish.

Twenty years ago people did not know what the heart of Africa was like. They spoke of it as a desert uninhabitable and sterile. It has proved, on the contrary, as my missionaries daily repeat to me, to to be the most beautiful part, the richest, and the most happy. It had been judged by the lands along the coast. There, indeed, the climate is unhealthy, often deadly, work difficult, and, for a European, well-nigh impossible. Ancient traditions, traces of which are found in Hesiod and Heroditus, seemed to indicate that the interior of Africa did not resemble its coasts; and this was equally suggested by the presence of its great rivers, the Niger,— the Congo, the Zambezi, and especially the Nile,— all of which justly excited the curiosity and conjectures of geographers, historians, and philosophers. As has since been proved, they were not mistaken as to the importance of these mysterious streams of water.

Besides the low lands of the coast, it has been found that the

centre of Africa rises on two plateaux; one, three thousand English feet above the level of the ocean; the other, of immense size, measuring thousands of miles in length, and over-topping the first by about two or three thousand feet, which makes a total altitude of four or five thousand feet above the sea. These two plateaux are inundated every year, at fixed periods, by the heavy rains carried in the clouds from the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, and they are dotted over with great lakes, or, to speak more accurately, inland seas, which are enormous reservoirs hollowed out by the hand of nature. From these seas, or great lakes as they are called, flow the four rivers of Africa with their numberless tributaries. That is what makes those countries so beautiful and fertile. With the help of these four rivers, together with a lively imagination, certain persons in latter times, have fancied that they recognized the ancient terrestrial paradise. The altitude there tempers the heat of the sun. On the banks of the Nyanza and the Tanganyika, the heat during the day does not exceed thirty-two degrees centigrade, and every evening the temperature falls to seventeen or eighteen degrees. The soil is of uncommon richness. I say nothing of the appearances which point to the existence of numerous mines, and promise rich treasures to industry; nor do I speak of agriculture. With the help of the sun and water, it yields, without difficulty, all the necessaries of life. Wherever water flows, four harvests can be reaped each year. This is the experience of our missionaries, in the case of the wheat which they cultivate in order to have at hand the material for the Eucharistic Sacrifice. The beauty and strength of the woods excite the admiration of explorers. All these advantages united must naturally draw and settle there a thick population. In the progress of time this has proved to be the case. Nowhere in Africa are seen more villages, or any more thickly inhabited. Peace dwelt there; the families were patriarchal; fire-arms were unknown; they were met with only towards the coast, or on the banks of the Zambezi, where the Portuguese had brought them.

It is a sad coincidence, that, at the very moment when the great explorers and the first missionaries penetrated into these regions twenty-five years ago, carrying with them faith and civilization, the slave-traders, who were, perhaps, informed by the men who had guided the travellers, made an invasion in their turn. Their starting-points were Egypt and the Kingdom of Zanzibar.

Their principal chiefs, the Metis, are a terrible race; springing from the Arabs and the blacks of the coast, and Mussulman in name, they are exactly fitted by nature to profess hatred and contempt of the negro race, which they rank below the animals; they consider that, if treated according to its deserts, it merits nothing but slavery, and if it offers resistance, torture and death. They are fearful men, without conscience or pity, and alike infamous for their brutal corruption and for their cruelty; in them the African proverb is justified: "God made the whites, God made the blacks, but the demon alone made the Metis." [Applause.]

Eleven years ago our Fathers arrived on the high plateaux of the interior, at Tabora, at the Tanganyika, at the Nyanza, on the Upper Congo, to behold the work of death, which was already shaping itself, grow, and, in the end, destroy everything from one place to another. In those early times these beautiful countries were store-houses doubly productive to the Metis. The life was easy, and ivory, which was the chief object of their commerce, extremely abundant. It had never been sought for so high up, or at such a distance, and in certain provinces like Manyuema, not far from the Tanganyika, it was found in such quantities that elephants' tusks were used to fence in the gardens and to support the poles of the natives' tents. With the ivory began the ruin of this unhappy country. It was not enough to buy it for a trifling sum or to seize it by force; it must be carried to the coast. Now, man is the only means of transportation in this part of Africa. The roads are only steep paths, and the domestic animals are killed by the bite of the tsetse. In order to have men the traders made slaves. The slightest pretext was enough to give excuse for a quarrel, or, in other words, for a premeditated massacre. These brigands fell, without pity or mercy, upon an inoffensive people, massacred all who resisted, manacled the rest, and by means of threats and violence, forced the men to serve as beasts of burden to the coast, where they were sold, together with the ivory which they had brought.

This was the beginning of the whole; but cupidity and blood have their own intoxication, a frightful intoxication which is not quieted until it is quelled by force. [Applause.] This fact had been proved to us already by the history of pagan tyrants. This intoxication of blood, this disregard of human life, disgraces the centre of Africa to-day. The population is oppressed, carried off, and, so to speak, incessantly mowed down. First one village, then another; first one province, then a second, until, in a short time, everything is covered with blood and ruins. Our missionaries on the Tanganyika write us that not a day goes by without caravans of slaves passing before their eyes, to be dragged to a distance as bearers of ivory, or to the markets of the interior as human cattle. By slow degrees these markets have been opened everywhere; at present, it is principally women and children that are sold there. Since the ivory is becoming exhausted, and is getting scarce, men are no longer necessary; moreover they run away, when they have fallen into the hands of their new masters, and are put to death. The cruelties perpetrated in this way are beyond description, and the scourge of such a "hunt," since that is the name generally given to it, and the only one which gives a true idea, exceeds all other scourges. Never has such murder, butchery, and such disregard of blood, been seen in any page of history, or in any part of the known world. [Applause.]

Already, in the last quarter of a century, thousands of human beings have fallen in this way. Yet the proportion is constantly increasing, and the figure given by our missionaries for the high plateaux of the interior exceeds that of Cameron for the trade of the

Zambezi and the Nyassa. Now, Cameron, who is one of the Englishmen most worthy of credit in such a case, for his long experience of the African trade, for his courage and noble heart, estimated that, even in his time, AT LEAST five hundred thousand blacks were then sold every year in the markets of the interior. He is here, besides, to confirm his testimony, as well as the entire agreement of our feelings and views. He has been good enough to write me a letter, which I received as I was starting to come to you. I beg him to authorize me to make it public. It may be that many things divide us, commander, but about this we cannot fail, as I remarked a little while ago, to agree in everything.* [Prolonged applause.]

The cruelty, as a consequence of the intoxication of blood, of which I have just spoken, shows the same increase as the numbers. Formerly the invaders were satisfied to take those who fell in their way from a population which was without suspicion. At present, I hear from my eye-witnesses, of scenes in which ferocity vies with the fury of wickedness. The blacks of the villages in the interior, knowing, by this time, what their enemies want, take flight into the jungles, or into the brush near their villages. They hope there to escape from their tyrants' blows. Hear the methods which the slave-traders make use of to BRING THEM DOWN. It is a wicked expression; but it is the refinement of cruelty which forces the tongue to use, in the case of man, the same terms which have hitherto been reserved for wild beasts. Besides, it is the custom in the interior of Africa; the blacks themselves, when they own slaves, employ the terms of the traders, and give their slaves no other name than that of MY BEAST, MY ANIMAL.

This infernal army, then, surrounds the great thickets in which the natives have taken refuge, and they set fire to them. Soon, from all quarters, are heard cries of terror and despair, and every one, who is not scorched by the flames, or suffocated by the smoke, rushes out from the burning fire and falls into the hands of his executioners, who wait to slay some, and to shackle the rest. You will find similar accounts by your explorers, and you will no longer wonder that the thickly-settled and fruitful provinces of the heart of Africa have been reduced, one after another, to lonely wastes, where henceforward the bones alone of the inhabitants shall bear witness that human activity, peace, and industry, have dwelt there.† [A general shudder.]

Therefore, the complete depopulation of Africa is no remote possibility. If Europe is untouched by motives of humanity, she should, at least, bear in mind the difficulty in which she will soon be placed, to know how to draw from these favored regions the wealth which they promised. When the population is once destroyed, all labor, and, consequently, all agriculture and real industry, will be impossible to the

* The text of this letter, which was written in French, will be found in APPENDIX I. It is both interesting and important, by the entire agreement which it establishes between the accounts and views of French Catholic missionaries and those of an English Protestant officer.

† The very day on which this speech was delivered, I received a letter from a missionary of Tanganyika, Père Guillemé, from the station of Kibanga, and I feel bound to take from it, and publish, without delay, the passage that constitutes APPENDIX II.

white man, who will be unaided by the manual labor of the natives. Without the inhabitants, the traveller will find neither food nor shelter on his journeys, and the paths will disappear, choked by an impenetrable barrier of tropical vegetation. Such is the work of to-day, and the position of to-morrow. I repeat it once for all, with all the force of conviction, if Europe does not quickly put a stop to these excesses by force, the heart of Africa will, in a few years, be only a desert. [Prompt assent.]

For this I am here, and for this I send forth before you, English Christians, the cry of indignation and distress, which I have already uttered before the Christians of France. [Applause.]

The duty of rescuing Africa falls first, without question, upon the governments of Europe. [Applause.] The honorable president of this meeting reminded you, before I began to speak, that in 1815 at Vienna, and at Verona in 1822, they solemnly pledged themselves no longer to tolerate slavery in the world. Yet the will is wanting; [applause] and why is it wanting? Does there exist a greater, nobler, or a more generous work? Upon what question can they more honorably consult and come to an agreement, than upon the repression of such frightful evils? [Applause.] We hear often of their alliances; and the nations, none of whom wish, in reality, for war, seem to see in them only the prelude to struggles, in which they shall destroy one another. Must we, then, fall back upon the bitter irony of our Montesquieu, when speaking more than a century ago of colonial slavery, he said: "Narrow minds exaggerate too much the injustice done to the Africans; for, were it such as they describe it, would it not have entered the heads of the Princes of Europe, who make so many useless treaties with one another, to make one general one for the sake of mercy and pity?" *

It is true that the European governments think of Africa; but up to the present time, they seem to have thought of it only to take possession of it. It is easy to meet in Congress in order to draw lines upon a map, and to parcel out empires; but Christian States cannot forget that duty corresponds with right. The chief nations of Europe, England, Belgium, France, Germany, and Portugal have settled and proclaimed by common consent their present and future rights over Africa. From that moment they had duties towards her. [Applause]. The first of these duties is that of not allowing the race of natives to be cruelly destroyed, nor shutting up once more, and changing into pathless deserts, the country which explorers had thrown open to civilization. Nevertheless, the voice of self-interest does not speak loudly enough to the governments, which are busy with other cares; to use the words of Montesquieu, we must force them to listen to the cry "of mercy and of pity." To do that the cry must be uttered by every one, and with such vehemence that they will be forced to obey it. [Hearty applause.]

This is, without doubt, the proper work of the Anti-Slavery Society

* Esprit des Lois liv. XV. Chap. V.

which has brought us together to-day, and it is that of the eminent men who preside over and direct it under the auspices of the Heir even of the throne. [Applause.] Still, an association of men, be they ever so powerful, cannot accomplish everything, and if I ventured to address you, ladies, I should say that a work of "mercy and pity" is especially your own. Better than men you know the road to the heart, because you feel more acutely than they; yet this is not the only reason in the question of African Slavery. At present, the principal victims of this slavery are women and children. Our Missionaries repeat this over and over again. Scarcely two days ago I received, in London, a letter from the Superior of our Tanganyika Mission, who repeated the same formula: "Here, at present, it is almost entirely women and children that are sold; the men are killed." In this division I do not hesitate to say that the women are more to be pitied than the men. Death frees the men at a single blow; slavery holds a thousand deaths in reserve for the women and children. It delivers them, defenceless, into the hands of their masters, for the vilest debauchery, and for every deed of atrocious cruelty. [Expressions of disgust.]

In a letter which I wrote a few days ago, I described the tortures of these unhappy women of the interior of Africa, at the hands of those who buy them. Let me now read you a passage from that letter:

"Here," I said, "is an example of this cruelty, drawn from the lowest steps of the social ladder, in the case of a poor black. It is told by one of our Fathers, and I have already published it, two years ago.

"In the rains of Masika," he writes, "the fields of the neighboring plain (of Tabora) were turned into a swamp. It was impossible to pass without sinking into the mud. Nevertheless, a negro of a neighboring village commanded his wife, who was also his slave, to go there and pick up wood to cook the supper. She set out, but she had no sooner entered the fields than she began to sink, and, in a short time, she had sunk up to her arms, without being able to extricate herself, or even to move lest she should sink deeper and perish. Her plaintive voice called for help; but those who passed by only laughed at her. As she did not come back, her husband went to look for her, taking with him a stick with which he doubtless meant to kill her. He found her in this pitiful condition, and, without doing anything to help her, he threw her his stick from a distance, that she might defend herself, as he said with cruel irony, against the hyenas that were coming in the night; he then went composedly home. The next day all trace of the unfortunate woman was gone."

Let us mount the steps of the ladder: one of our Fathers narrates, with horror, that a petty prince of Bukumbi said to him one morning, in the coolest way imaginable, and without seeming to think it extraordinary, "Last night I killed five of my wives." [Signs of indignation.]

We come now to the most powerful. This is what I have to tell myself about the king of Uganda in the letter from which I have taken the preceding extracts: "Reverend Father Levesque, former Missionary of Uganda told me, that once, when he was at the Court of King Mteca, while he was awaiting his audience in the outer enclosure, the doors of the brazah, or royal hall, were suddenly thrown open, with a

loud noise, to let pass two armed soldiers, who were dragging by the feet a poor female slave. The king had just condemned her to have her ears, nose, and, lastly, her head cut off immediately, because she had spoken too loud before the opening of the audience. The sentence was carried out on the spot, in the presence of the crowd. The cries of the unhappy woman went to the heart of the Missionaries; but they excited from the other by-standers a noisy burst of laughter." [Signs of horror.]

You will see how far these horrors are confirmed by the testimony of an eye-witness, the explorer Speke, in the case of the negro court of Uganda, where a thousand or twelve hundred women are victims to every caprice of the tyrant.

"For some time," he writes in his "Sources of the Nile," "I have lived within the enclosure of the royal palace, and, consequently, the customs of the court are no longer a dead letter to me. In spite of that, shall I be believed when I declare, that, since I changed my quarters, not a day has passed without my seeing one, two, or even three, of these unhappy women, who make up Mteca's harem, led to death? Drawn or dragged along, with a cord around their wrists, by the body-guard which leads them to the slaughter-house, the poor creatures, with eyes full of tears, utter cries that break your heart. *Hai Minange!* (Oh! My Lord!) *Kbakka!* (My King!) *hai N'yavis!* (Oh! My Mother!) In spite of these piteous appeals to public pity not a hand is lifted to save them from the executioners, though here and there one hears a remark made in a low voice on the beauty of the victims."*

Christian women of Europe, women of England, to you it belongs to make such horrors everywhere known, and to rouse against them the indignation of the civilized world. [Applause.] Allow no peace to your fathers, husbands, and brothers; but make use of the authority which they possess by their eloquence, fortune, or position in the State, to stop the shedding of your sisters' blood. If God has given you a talent for writing, use it in such a cause; you will find none more holy. Do not forget that it was a book written by a woman, a novel, "Uncle Tom," which was translated into every language in the world, that put the seal to the freedom of slaves in America. [Applause.] Now, what is the practical end for which we must unite at this time the States of Europe? I repeat in one word and very distinctly: to use force for the destruction of African slavery. [Applause.] The evil is too deeply rooted, and too widely spread, to be cured henceforward in any other way until it has finished its work.

By means of persuasion the Missionaries may, perhaps, convert a few isolated and petty nations; but they are too few to make their action felt in the vast extent of the African interior. In the meantime, the destruction goes on so fast that everything will have disappeared.

I say the same thing in the matter of charity and the ransoming of slaves. Some persons have suggested this from a motive of generous charity, in order to save, at least, some victims from their sad fate. God forbid that I should turn aside Christians from a sentiment so in harmony with their law. Charity is its first precept. Yet, on one

*John Haming Speke; "Sources of the Nile," Third Edition, Chap. XI., Page 327.

hand, how shall we find sums large enough to ransom so many slaves, and, on the other, would not this very ransoming be an encouragement to the cupidity of the slave-traders? If the ransom is made sure the slave-hunt will find a new reason for spreading.

I say again, it is force that is needed, a pacific force certainly, and intended only for defence, but an armed force. This has been proved in the colonial trade where all was useless until the English, French, and American vessels raised an insurmountable barrier to the slave-traders. They still keep this up in the Indian Ocean to prevent the transport of slaves into Asia. It is true that they do not succeed in stopping it completely, because the passages are so short that they can be made by the Arab dhows under cover of darkness. Nevertheless, the cruisers excite fear. Upon this I must warmly congratulate the British government whose perseverance is shown by the late *blue book*. [Loud applause.] For slavery on land, however, the cruisers are insufficient. According to the idea of your great Gordon [prolonged applause] about the abolition of the slave-trade on the Nile, we must add to them barriers of earth to close the entrances to the slave countries against the caravans, and some light troops which can be moved about to all the places where this infamous hunt is conspicuous. This is the opinion of all those who are acquainted with our African question, and it is that expressed to me by Commander Cameron, in his letter of this morning.* [Applause.]

Let me suppose, however, that the governments, which have often various ideas and interests, cannot, or will not, come to an agreement; in that case, I say with equal distinctness and equal frankness that the same duty passes from the governments to the Christian peoples. [Loud applause.] They can fulful it, as we see in the case of the Christian Missions, in which the governments have lost interest, and which have been taken up by the people. Here, England gives an example to all by her generosity and her alms. France and other European countries do likewise by their fearless Missionaries and their works of apostleship. Why should they not do as much for a work which falls in so naturally with that of the preaching of the faith? Why should we not see individual devotion spring up amongst them, equal to supplying that which the governments could not accomplish. [Applause.] The latter have not sent a single man to the upper plateaux of Africa up to the present time. Why should not private associations, like those of the middle ages, send men there to teach the blacks to defend themselves against their oppressors? [Applause.]

Has not Stanley shown us what a single man, aided by a few hundred blacks, can bring to pass, by his boldness and perseverance? [Prolonged applause.] Did not Emin Pasha know how to raise and direct forces to preserve order about him? [Fresh applause.] If I wished to speak of a more modest devotedness, I could name, without fear of awakening your jealousy, a French hero, who, for nearly nine months, has faced all the privations, fatigues, and dangers of the African equator in order to raise an army of blacks, and to protect the tribes that surround him, by his devoton and courage. His name is Joubert.

* See Appendix.

[Applause.] Others could go to work separately, or band together, as they did formerly, for the same crusade. I see that such will not be lacking from amongst you. I have already received several such offers since I have been in London. [Applause.] May these offers multiply; may we thus have Stanleys, Emins, and Jouberts on different points of the African interior, and the problem will be solved. It is not, as might be supposed, great armies that are needed: it is men, even single individuals; but strong in virtue, in initiative ability, and in courage, and capable of training the blacks to resist their enemies. [Fresh applause.]

Something indispensable will still be wanting to them and to us, and this should be the work of all. Warlike courage and boldness in facing dangers and fatigues are the endowments of the few; charity is the duty of all; and here it is necessary in order to supply material help to those who are willing to shed their blood and sacrifice their lives.

You cannot better contribute to this end than by joining the work which brings us together to-day, and which offers, on so many grounds, the highest pledges of honor; to Catholics, especially, by the presence of an eminent cardinal.* Nothing prevents the forming of such in other countries; [prolonged applause] only, remember, that at this moment, while I speak to you, blood is flowing in streams beneath the African equator; remember that it only depends upon Europe to stop it, and that if she does not do so without delay, she will be responsible before God and before history. Nineteen centuries ago the world heard an expression of indifference, of selfishness, and of fear fall from the lips of a people, who might have stopped by a single word, the shedding of innocent blood: "May his blood be upon us and upon our children." The blood, indeed, flowed; but the people who thus allowed it to be shed, lost all that a people can lose, honor and country, and to-day we see it scattered to the four winds of the universe. Let us beware lest the blood of Africa should hold over Europe a like curse. May God save her, therefore, from the scourge which threatens to destroy her forever! May he save her by inspiring the governments with generous resolutions, and by raising up from amongst the peoples Christian devotion and courage. [A salvo of enthusiastic applause.]

After this speech, and on the motion of Cardinal Manning, seconded by other orators, and particularly by Commander Cameron, the meeting unanimously voted the following resolution:

"*The time has now arrived when all the nations of Europe, which at the Congress of Vienna, in* 1815, *and at the conference of Verona in* 1822, *passed a series of resolutions severely condemning the slave-trade, should take serious measures in order to come to a practical result. As the Arab brigands, whose sanguinary devastations are now depopulating Africa, are subject neither to laws nor to a responsible authority, it is the duty of the governments of Europe to make their disappearance certain in all the territories over which the said governments have any power. This meeting also proposes to appeal to Her Majesty's Government in order, that, together*

* His Eminence Cardinal Manning is a member of the Directing Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society.

with the European powers, who claim at this moment possession or territorial influence in Africa, it may adopt such measures as will assure the abolition of the fearful slave-trade, which is even now carried on by these enemies of the human race." ["Times."]

APPENDIX I.

To His Eminence Cardinal Lavigerie.

My Lord, I see, with great joy, that your Eminence is come to London to commend to us, Englishmen, the question of the slave-trade. During the three years that I have passed in travelling through Africa, I have often been witness to the evils caused by the trade, and I had previously spent four years in pursuing the Arab dhows, which carried slaves into Asia.

The greater part of those who still reflect upon the horrors of the trade, fancy that this question concerns the transport of slaves by sea only, and that on land they are neither ill-treated nor unhappy.

My Lord, I have seen the slaves on board the Arab dhows, bent double, their knees drawn up to their chins, covered with wounds and bruises, dying for want of food and drink, the dead bound to the living, and the small-pox adding its terrible contagion to the miseries with which they were overwhelmed.

Yet this is nothing in comparsion with the horrors that are seen on land; villages burnt, men slain in defending their homes, whole provinces devastated, women violated, little children dying of hunger, or if a mother has got leave to carry her child away with her, and the brutal driver finds that she cannot carry both her burthen and her child, the latter is thrown to the ground, and its neck is broken before its mother's eyes.

Thousands of poor people carry heavy loads of the very spoil, perhaps, which their cruel masters have stolen from those who are now their slaves; they are forced to walk when they are covered with wounds and even dying, and besides their loads they carry forks * fastened on their necks.

The stoppages give them no relief. They are obliged to put up their masters' tents, and then to lie down, in the cold and rain, often without having tasted food. When it happens that a poor slave can no longer put one foot before the other, instead of taking off the fork which he carries on his neck, the trader leaves it on him, so as to make it impossible for the unfortunate creature to escape from death. Sometimes men or women, left in this way by the roadside are devoured, while still alive, by savage beasts, less savage, however, than those who thus leave them to perish without help.

Some of those who wish to defend the land trade, say that it is necessary for the ivory traffic. I know very well that some Arab dealers

* These forks are heavy pieces of wood placed on the neck of the slaves, as we put a yoke on our oxen.

who go into Africa to get ivory, become slave-traders for want of free men to carry the ivory which they have heaped up. Still, those employed in this labor are not a tenth part of the slaves made to-day.

The negro-traders, who do so much harm to the Scotch missions and to the European merchants on Lake Nyassa, are neither Arabs nor dealers in ivory. They are degraded Metis, who want slaves because that, with them, they can live without working, and give themselves up to the brutal pleasures to which they are accustomed. They now find means of disposing of their human spoil in favor of persons who have undertaken to find "free emigrants." All the Mussulman countries, and some of those of the heathen blacks, buy the slaves and think little of the ivory.

The slaves who found, formerly, an almost free market in Egypt, are now carried into Tripoli, and south of the barbarous provinces through Sahara, the sands of which are strewn with their skeletons.

The great native chiefs, like Karongo and Muanga, without the inducement which comes from foreign traders, follow the slave-hunt for no better reason than their caprice. Thus, every negro wishes to own another, and the idea of slavery is mixed up with the African blood. I should add that all the systems are useless by which people try to palliate slavery; that, whether the subjected persons are called "free emigrants," or "apprentices" or by any other title, they are all the same under different names, and all give rise to the slave-hunt in the interior of Africa. If these systems are not abolished, or radically changed, we shall never succeed in suppressing it everywhere. Now, if the governments cannot abolish the land trade by force, as the English government has already done on the west coast of Africa, and as she is now endeavoring to do in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, then men of every religion, of every country, and of every nation, must band together to send expeditions into Africa for the express purpose of abolishing slavery.

Some (like the Missionaries) may use moral force in working for this end, but the rest must use material weapons. If we had several small armies, well armed and disciplined, on the great lakes, and at different points of the interior, we should soon succeed in stopping the transport of slaves into the distant countries. Until now, nothing has been done with this object; but one hundred Europeans could control Lake Nyassa, and this is true of the other great lakes, and of several places situated on the principal roads. Germany has just become mistress of a vast region in Africa; but so far she has shown no desire to assuage the sufferings of those whose sovereign she has become.

I trust, my Lord, that you will succeed in exciting a lively interest in the question of the trade, and that you will be fortunate in finding meansto abolish it.

The man who makes certain the liberty of the negro race, will be the worthiest servant of God that the world has ever seen.

With profound respect,

I am the obedient servant of your Eminence,

LOVETT-CAMERON, C. B. D. L.

Commander R. N.

APPENDIX II.

Since I have reached Ujiji, I ought to say a word about it in passing; but I find myself incapable of describing this city as I have seen it, and my pen refuses to record all the horrors that are committed there. Ujiji is the most populous Arab centre of Tanganyika. There come together all the caravans of slaves taken in the interior and travelling towards Zanzibar. There all the Metis (Mussulmans) assemble to decide together in what direction, and in what country, they will make their raids. From thence go forth all the bands of robbers who now overflow Manyuema, and are completing the destruction of that country once so populous. A true Sodom; the theatre of every crime and every debauchery, of every horror and every vice. What an unhappy day for Africa when the Mussulmans first set foot in the interior! With them came their immoral religion, their contempt for the negro, and their shameful vices and diseases, before unknown to the negroes.

Formerly, I had, at different times, visited the market of Ujiji; but, at that time, the slaves were few, and I had not seen this odious traffic in all its horror. At the time of my last journey, the city had just been inundated, in the fullest sense of the term, by caravans of slaves coming from Manyuema, from Maroungou, from Uvira and from Ubuari. The slaves were cheap on account of their numbers, and persons came to propose to me to ransom some of them at a low price; but almost all were worn out with fatigue and misery, and dying of hunger; some of them would have been incapable of crossing the lake, even to reach the Mission. I was so poor that I had to refuse almost all, for I had scarcely money enough to ransom the captives that I had come to seek, and whom I was bound to prefer, since they had been already instructed by us.

The square was covered with slaves for sale, fastened in long lines, men, women, and children, in frightful disorder, some tied with cords and others with chains. In the case of a few who came from Manyuema, their ears were pierced, and a slender cord passed through, to keep them together.

In the streets one met living skeletons at every step, dragging themselves painfully along with the help of a stick; they were no longer chained because they could not run away. Suffering and privation of every kind were written on their emaciated countenances, and everything showed that they were dying of hunger rather than of disease. One could see by the great scars upon their backs the ill-treatment which they had undergone at the hands of their masters, who, to make them walk, did not spare them their share of the rod. Others were lying down in the street, and awaiting the end of their wretched existence near their master's house, who, knowing that their death was at hand, no longer gave them any food. Seeing these unhappy creatures, who have not the hope of those who know God to soothe their wretchedness, how the heart of a Missionary bleeds, as

he thinks of so many souls that are lost for want of laborers, and of material means to deliver them!

It was, however, in the direction of the Tanganyika in an uncultivated piece of land covered with a high growth, and separating the market from the banks of the lake, that we were to see all the horrible consequences of this abominable trade. This space is the cemetery of Ujiji, or rather the receptacle into which are cast the bodies of the dead and dying slaves. The hyenas, which are very numerous in this country, take care of their burial. A young Christian, who was still unacquainted with the town, wished to go on as far as the banks of the lake; but at the sight of the many bodies strewn along the path, and half devoured by the hyenas and birds of prey, he drew back in horror, unable to bear such a terrible sight.

When I asked an Arab why there were so many dead bodies in the neighborhood of Ujiji, and why they were left so near the city, he answered quietly, and as if it were the simplest thing in the world, "Formerly we were in the habit of throwing the bodies of our dead slaves in this place, and the hyenas came every night and carried them off; but this year the number of dead is so large that there are no longer beasts enough to devour them; THEY ARE SICK OF HUMAN FLESH!"

Persons wishing to communicate with Cardinal Lavigerie on this subject may address as follows: —

HIS EMINENCE CHARLES CARDINAL LAVIGERIE,
11 Rue du Regard, Paris, France.

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